

Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 4 SEOUL 1132

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EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR PINT KS US

SUBJ: US-KOREAN POLICY: HUMAN RIGHTS.

I. STATE OF THE PROBLEM

BY FAR THE MOST INTRACTABLE ISSUE FACED IN US-ROK RELATIONS IS THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE, WHICH INVOLVES BOTH TREATMENT OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT. ON ONE HAND, PRESIDENT PARK'S AUTHORITARIAN STRUCTURE IS REPUGNANT TO AMERICAN VALUES AND IS THE BASIS FOR WIDESPREAD AMERICAN CRITICISM OF OUR COMMITMENT TO KOREA'S DEFENSE. ON THE OTHER HAND, PRESIDENT PARK IS ADAMANT IN HIS DEFENSE OF HIS GOVERNING SYSTEM AS ESSENTIAL TO EFFECTIVE DEFENSE AND CONTINUED DEVELOPMENT OF KOREA. THE UNSPOKEN RATIONALE FOR HIS SYSTEM IS THE ASSURANCE FOR REMAINING IN POWER. IS THERE A BASIS OR MEANS FOR RECONCILIATION AND NARROWING THIS GAP ON HUMAN RIGHTS?

II. CONSIDERATIONS

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A. CURRENT STATUS AND POLITICAL PROSPECTS: PREVIOUS EMBTELS, INCLUDING OUR MOST RECENT ASSESSMENT (SEOUL 1062) AND LATEST SURVEY ON HUMAN RIGHTS (SEOUL 381) PROVIDE FULL ANALYSIS. IN ESSENCE, PRESIDENT PARK'S YUSHIN SYSTEM LEAVES SCOPE FOR PERSONAL FREEDOM AND CRITICISM, PARTICULARLY IN ECONOMIC AREA, BUT SCARCE LEeway TO CHALLENGE ESSENCE OF AUTHORITARIAN SYSTEM OR

CONTINUED RULE BY PARK. OPPOSITION FROM BOTH WITHIN AND OUTSIDE RULING ESTABLISHMENT IS CONSTRAINED. MOST SEVERELY DEALT WITH ARE ANY EXTRA-LEGAL ATTACKS ON THE SYSTEM, SUCH AS STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS. THE YUSHIN SYSTEM, DESPITE ITS DETRACTORS, WORKS AND IS SUPPORTED BY MANY AND IS ACCEPTED, IF NOT ENTHUSIASTICALLY, BY MOST OTHER KOREANS. PARK'S FOCUS AND SUCCESS ON PROVIDING DEFENSE AGAINST THE NORTH AND CONSTANT IMPROVEMENT IN THE STANDARD OF LIVING MEET THE BASIC NEEDS OF THE POPULACE. THE RURAL SECTOR HAS PARTICULARLY BENEFITED AND PARK HAS FIRM SUPPORT AND RESPECT FROM THE MILITARY, BUREAUCRATIC AND NEW INDUSTRIAL/MANAGERIAL ELITES. HIS POLITICS DO NOT SATISFY THE MINORITY OF BETTER-EDUCATED KOREANS AND THOSE INFLUENCED BY WESTERN MORAL STANDARDS WHO RESENT THE CONSTRAINTS ON OPPOSITION AND CRITICISM, BUT HAVING LITTLE CHOICE ALL BUT A HANDFUL ARE PREPARED TO LIVE WITHIN THE SYSTEM. THE MOST ADAMANT OPPOSITION AND THE MOST FEARED BY PARK ARE THE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS, WHO VIEW THEIR UNIVERSITY YEARS AS THE ONE PERIOD FOR REBELLION AGAINST AUTHORITY WHETHER IT BE AGAINST STATE OR FAMILY CONTROL. FROM A GOVERNING VIEWPOINT, THE WEAKNESSES OF THE AUTHORITARIAN YUSHIN SYSTEM ARE NOT THAT IT DOES NOT PROVIDE POLITICAL STABILITY FOR THE PRESENT, BUT THAT IT DEPENDS TOO LARGELY ON THE JUDGEMENT OF ONE MAN WHO HAS BECOME PROGRESSIVELY ISOLATED AND WOULD LEAVE A POTENTIAL POLITICAL VACUUM IN POST-PARK PERIOD. AS LONG AS REGIME CONTINUES TO MEET THE MOST BASIC NEEDS OF PEOPLE, IT IS
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NOT LIKELY TO DRIVE OPPOSITION TO PRO-COMMUNIST DISAFFECTION, BUT IT COULD LEAD TO A POST-PARK PERIOD OF CHAOS AND DISORDER. HOWEVER, WITH OR WITHOUT PARK, THE COMPULSIONS FOR SOCIAL ORDER AND CONTROL AUTHORITY ARE STRONG IN KOREA AND LIKELY TO PREVAIL. IT IS THE EMBASSY'S JUDGMENT THAT PARK COULD PRUDENTLY RELAX HIS CONTROLS WITHOUT WEAKENING HIS GOVERNING AUTHORITY. IN FACT, THERE IS A PROSPECT HE WILL MAKE SOME CONCESSIONS TO THE OPPOSITION IN THE NEAR FUTURE. BUT, HE IS FAR LESS LIKELY TO REVISE THE YUSHIN SYSTEM PERMITTING A REAL CHALLENGE TO HIS CONTINUATION IN OFFICE. AND, THE PROSPECT IS THAT EVEN A MODERATE RELAXATION OF CONTROL WILL ONLY WHET THE APPETITE OF PARK'S MORE ADAMANT OPPONENTS, PARTICULARLY THE STUDENTS, LEAD TO ANOTHER CYCLE OF STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS AND OTHER TESTS OF THE LIMITS OF PARK'S TOLERANCE, AND A SUBSEQUENT CRACKDOWN AND REVERSION TO TIGHTER CONTROLS.

B. PARK'S POSITION: PRESIDENT PARK IS FIRMLY CON-

VINCE THAT THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE TO HIS YUSHIN SYSTEM.
HIS MILITARY AND CONFUCIAN ORIGINS LEAVE LITTLE TOLERANCE
FOR THE "WASTEFULNESS" OF MORE DEMOCRATIC PROCEDURES.
THIS VIEWPOINT IS REINFORCED BY HIS IMPATIENCE TO PUSH
KOREA RAPIDLY INTO MODERN INDUSTRIALIZATION WHILE
HUSBANDING ENOUGH OF HIS SPARSE RESOURCES FOR DEFENSE.
PARK, MOREOVER, AFTER 16 SUCCESSFUL YEARS IN POWER, SEES
HIMSELF AS INDISPENSABLE AND IS UNWILLING TO SHARE HIS
POWERS WITH POWERFUL SUBORDINATES. AS A RESULT, HE IS

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NOW SURROUNDED BY ABLE BUT POLITICALLY POWERLESS TECH-
NOCRATS WHO HESITATE TO CONTRADICT OR PRESENT A DIVERSITY
OF VIEWS. IN PROPER CONFUCIAN STYLE, PARK IS PREPARED TO
DISPENSE BENEFITS TO THE POORER SECTORS OF SOCIETY AND TO
PREEMPT HIS OPPONENTS, BUT HE IS UNPREPARED TO RESPOND
TO DEMANDS AND PARTICULARLY TO PRESSURE. PARK, IN FACT,
IS BEHAVING VERY MUCH AS MOST KOREANS EXPECT THEIR LEADERS
IN ANY ORGANIZATION TO BEHAVE, STANDING TOUGH IN CONFRONTA-
TIONAL SITUATIONS. RECOGNIZING THIS ATTITUDE, PARK IS
SHREWD IN GAUGING THE POLITICAL TEMPER OF HIS COUNTRY
AND DEMONSTRATING PRAGMATIC FLEXIBILITY, WHEN NECESSARY.
IN THIS PERSPECTIVE, PARK APPROACHES THE HUMAN
RIGHTS ISSUE WITH NO SYMPATHY FOR ITS INHERENT VALUES AND
A DEEP CONVICTION THAT A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM IS NOT ONLY
UNWORKABLE IN KOREA BUT DANGEROUSLY VULNERABLE TO NORTH
KOREAN EXPLOITATION OR MISINTERPRETATION. HE ARGUES
THAT SOCIAL DISCIPLINE IS ESSENTIAL TO THE IMPOSITION OF

SACRIFICE, MILITARY SERVICE, AND PREPAREDNESS NECESSARY FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND DEFENSE. IN HIS VIEW, EVEN THE LIMITED DEMOCRACY OF THE PRE-YUSHIN PERIOD WAS A FAILURE SINCE THE OPPOSITION ACTED IRRESPONSIBLY WITHOUT REGARD

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FOR THESE FUNDAMENTAL NEEDS OF THE COUNTRY AND FOMENTED STUDENT UNREST. THE EXPERIENCE OF VIETNAM ONLY REINFORCED THIS CONVICTION. AMERICAN APPROACHES ON HUMAN RIGHTS GET VERY LITTLE UNDERSTANDING FROM PARK AND PRESSURES ARE RESISTED. YET, 10-4(#8&#)6 ;-)73 #8 -.348:-, 43)-58ONSHIP (WHILE RESENTING ITS CONSTRAINTS ON HIS INDEPENDENCE), AND WILL OFFER GESTURES AND CONCESSIONS TO AMERICAN CRITICISM ON HUMAN RIGHTS. BUT, THEY ARE IN HIS TERMS JUST THAT-- GESTURES WHICH CAN BE REVERSED IF THE OPPOSITION PRESSES FOR MORE CONCESSIONS. IN FACT, PARK HAS GIVEN EVERY INDICATION THAT HIS LAST FORTRESS IS HIS DETERMINATION TO RULE KOREA INTERNALLY AS HE SEES FIT. THIS IS ONE REASON HE HAS CANCELLED HIS NUCLEAR AND ADVANCED WEAPONS PROGRAMS AND WILL LIKELY PROVE FLEXIBLE ON TROOP REDUCTION.

C. THE OPPOSITION: THE OPPOSITION TO PARK STEMS FROM MIXED MOTIVES: THERE ARE THOSE WHO RESENT AUTHORITY, PER SE, A TRADITION CURRENT IN KOREA AND PARTICULARLY PRONOUNCED AMONG THE STUDENTS; THERE ARE THOSE MOTIVATED BY CONVICTION AND DEEP MORAL VALUES, PARTICULARLY THE CHURCH GROUPS AND INTELLECTUALS; AND THERE ARE THOSE WHO RESENT BEING SHUT OFF FROM SHARING POLITICAL POWER BUT WOULD BEHAVE VERY SIMILARLY IF IN POWER. AT PRESENT,

THE OPPOSITION IS LARGELY IMPOTENT AND NOT PRONE TO CHALLENGE PARK. ITS LEADERSHIP HAS LITTLE ACTIVIST SUPPORT, ALTHOUGH BROADER PASSIVE SUPPORT BUT STILL HAS ONLY A MINORITY. IT HAS FAILED SO FAR TO PROJECT REALISTIC ALTERNATIVE NATIONAL POLICIES TO MEET KOREA'S REQUIREMENTS AND MUST STILL LIVE DOWN THE MEMORY OF THE INEPTNESS OF THE PRE-COUP GOVERNMENT. AS A CONSEQUENCE, THE MORE OUTSPOKEN OPPOSITION LEADERSHIP, SUCH AS KIM DAE JUNR AND SOCIAL-MINDED CHURCH GROUPS, PIN THEIR CURRENT HOPES NOT ON INTERNAL SUPPORT BUT EXTERNAL U.S. PRESSURE. IT HAS HIGH EXPECTATIONS OF EFFECTIVE INTERVENTION ON THE PART

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OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION AND WILL DIRECT ITS APPEALS TO IT.

THE DILEMMA OF THE OPPOSITION IS TO CHOOSE BETWEEN
SEEKING MODERATE, GRADUAL CHANGES IN THE YUSHIN SYSTEM
AND DIRECT ACTION TO THE POINT OF FORCING PARK'S REMOVAL
IN THE NEAR TERM. MODERATION IS LIKELY TO BE ACCEPTABLE
TO PARK AND BRING SOMEWHAT GREATER FREEDOM, BUT LEAVES IN

DOUBT ANY FUNDAMENTAL EVOLUTION FROM AN AUTHORITARIAN
STRUCTURE. DIRECT ACTION, ON THE OTHER HAND, WHILE A MORE
STRAIGHTFORWARD APPROACH, IS LIKELY TO BE DIVISIVE AND
THOROUGHLY REPRESSED. THE OPPOSITION LEADERSHIP IS
CLEARLY DIVIDED ON THIS KEY ISSUE AND THUS EVEN LESS

POTENT.

D. PROSPECTS FOR DEMOCRACY: EVEN WITHOUT PARK'S
REPRESSION, THE SEEDS FOR A WORKING DEMOCRACY IN KOREA
ARE SPARSE AND NOT DEEPLY ROOTED. DESPITE THE LARGE
CHRISTIAN MINORITY AND THE CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF WESTERN-
EDUCATED IN THE ESTABLISHMENT, KOREA IS ESSENTIALLY A
CONFUCIAN SOCIETY, GROUP-RATHER THAN INDIVIDUAL-ORIENTED

WITH A SOCIAL STRUCTURE FROM THE FAMILY UP ORGANIZED ALONG
AUTHORITARIAN LINES. THE PAST EXPERIENCE WITH DEMOCRACY
AND DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS HAS BEEN BRIEF, INEPTLY
ADMINISTERED, AND NONE TOO SATISFACTORY TO THE BROAD
POPULACE.

YET, THE SEEDS ARE THERE. THERE IS GROWING RESPECT
FOR INDIVIDUAL AND HUMAN VALUES, A TRADITIONAL RESENTMENT
OF AUTHORITY, A DESIRE FOR PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-
MAKING WITHIN THE SYSTEM. PERHAPS MOST ENCOURAGING IS THE
GROWTH OF NEW POWER CENTERS--MAINLY THE BUREAUCRACY AND
ECONOMIC LEADERSHIP--PREPARED IN THE LONGER TERM TO CHAL-
LENGE THE MILITARY MONOPOLY OF POWER. PARK'S RURAL COM-
MUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM MAY ALSO BREED MORE GRASS ROOTS

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DEMOCRACY AND INDEPENDENT LEADERSHIP. OVER THE LONGER TERM, A MORE BALANCED POWER STRUCTURE COULD RESULT IN A MORE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM.

BUT SUCH A SYSTEM WILL HAVE A DISTINCT KOREAN FLAVOR AND NOT NECESSARILY MIMIC WESTERN INSTITUTIONS. IN THE SHORT TERM, INSTITUTIONAL CHANGES ARE DIFFICULT TO PROJECT, BUT THERE ARE MORE FERTILE GROUNDS FOR EXPANDING INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS, SUCH AS WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND GREATER LEGAL PROTECTION, EVEN WITHIN THE PRESENT MIX OF MODERNIZING AND CONFUCIAN INFLUENCES.

E. U.S. LEVERAGE: PRESIDENT PARK IS DEEPLY CONSCIOUS OF AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR GREATER HUMAN RIGHTS IN KOREA AND HAS SIGNALLED HIS CONCERN ABOUT THE PROSPECTIVE POLICIES OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION IN THIS FIELD. HE AND, PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANT, HIS PRINCIPAL SUPPORTERS, ARE EQUALLY AWARE OF KOREA'S CONTINUED NEED FOR U.S. MILITARY AND ECONOMIC BACKSTOPPING. UNDER PRESSURE, CONCESSIONS HAVE AND WILL BE MADE TO SALVE AMERICAN OPINION, BUT THEY WILL BE MARGINAL, REVERSIBLE, AND NOT FUNDAMENTALLY ALTER THE AUTHORITARIAN SYSTEM. PARK AND HIS SUPPORTERS HAVE STOOD FIRM TO THEIR CONVICTIONS IN THESE AREAS AND WILL ACT TO DISCOURAGE

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AMERICAN PRESSURE ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE. SO FAR, AMERICAN LEVERAGE WHEN APPLIED, INCLUDING REDUCTION OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE, HAS PROVED LARGELY UNPRODUCTIVE AND PARK HAS PROBABLY ASSUMED WE SOUGHT FACE-SAVING COSMETICS RATHER THAN REAL RESULTS. HE HAS GAMBLLED THAT, IN OUR OWN INTERESTS, WE WILL ESCHEW THE ULTIMATE WEAPONS--WITHDRAWAL OF MILITARY OF FINANCIAL (MAINLY COMMERCIAL BANK

CREDIT" SUPPORT. OUR DIRECT LEVERAGE IS LIMITED WITHOUT THREATENING THESE STEPS--AND IF WE THREATEN, WE CANNOT AFFORT TO BLUFF. BUT THERE MAY BE LESS DIRECT LEVERS AVAILABLE TO US; CONSISTENCY OF POLICY, AND APPROACH BASED

MORE ON PARK'S SELF INTERESTS RATHER THAN APPEASEMENT OF

CONGRESS, AND POSITIVE INCENTIVES THRU OFFERING THE POSSIBILITY OF A MORE EMBRACING AND DURABLE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S. BUT ONE BASED ONLY ON SHARED VALUES. SUCH AN APPROACH MIGHT WELL CONVINCE PARK TO START ON THE ROAD BACK TO A MORE RESPONSIVE, DEMOCRATIC AND LESS AUTHORITARIAN SYSTEM.

III. OPTIONS

THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE MUST BE PURSUED, CONSISTENTLY AND CONSTANTLY, PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY, DESPITE PARK'S DISTASTE FOR IT. THE CHOICES FACING US ARE TACTICAL: THE DEGREE OF DIRECT LEVERAGE; COSMETICS AS AGAINST FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE; SHORT-TERM AS AGAINST LONGER-TERM GOALS. AND, EVEN THESE CHOICES MAY BE AN ILLUSION AND A MULTIPLE APPROACH MAY BE DICTATED BY DEVELOPMENTS. AS A FIRST STEP, WE SHOULD CLARIFY IN OUR OWN MINDS THE DEFINITION OF "HUMAN RIGHTS" AS IT PERTAINS TO KOREA. IT WOULD BE ILLOGICAL AND UNWARRANTED TO EXPECT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A WESTERN-STYLE DEMOCRACY. WE SHOULD THEREFORE ESTABLISH OTHER GOALS AGAINST WHICH WE COULD MEASURE ROKG ACTIONS. AND, WHATEVER OUR TACTICS, WE MUST DEAL NOT ONLY WITH THE PARK GOVERNMENT BUT WITH
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THE OPPOSITION. IN SUPPORTING ITS STANCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS, WE RUN THE RISK OF ENCOURAGING RESISTANCE TO PARK IN THE EXPECTATION OF GREATER DIRECT AMERICAN INTERVENTION THAN WE CAN DELIVER. THE OPPOSITION MUST UNDERSTAND THE LIMITS OF AMERICA'S CAPABILITIES IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD.

A. LEVERAGE: RESTRT TO THE MOST POWERFUL LEVER, OFFERING ACHOICE BETWEEN SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS ON HUMAN RIGHTS OR LOSS OF SUPPORT, MIGHT SUCCEED, BUT IT IS MORE LIKELY TO BE RESISTED ON NATIONALISTIC GROUNDS, PARTICULARLY IF THE CHOICE APPEARS TO KOREANS AS BETWEEN BARK PERSONALLY AND U.S. SUPPORT. IF PARK RESISTS AND WE DRAW BACK, OUR TOTAL INFLUENCE WILL BE ERODED. OTHER DIRECT PRESSURES OFFER LESS POTENTIAL LEVERAGE, AND LESS LIKELIHOOD OF SUCCESS. HOWEVER, EVEN THE CONSTANT REMINDER TO PARK THAT HUMAN RIGHTS ARE AN INTRINSICALLY IMPORTANT ISSUE TO TXE U.S. WITHOUT THE THREAT OF PUNITIVE ACTION WILL INEVITABLY INFLUENCE HIS DECISIONS ON DEALING WITH THE OPPOSITION. IN FACT, MORE LEVERAGE MAY BE AFFORDED BY TACTICS OFFERING POSITIVE REWARDS, RATHREG THAN BY PRESSURES THREATENING WITHDRAWAL OF SUPPORT. ADDITIONALLY, AND PERHAPS EARLY ON, CRITICISM OF NORTH KOREAN AUTHORITARIAN RULE WOULD GIVE

BALANCE AND MORE CREDIBILITY TO OUR CRITICISM OF PARK.

B. COSMETICS VERSUS FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE: PARK IS A
PAST MASTER AT SHIFTING GEARS AND ALTERHATING HARD ANE
SOFT LINES, ELIMINATING ONE SET OF EMERGENCY RESTRICTIVE
DECREES AND THEM IMPOSING ANOTHER. COSMETICS AND WINDOW
DRESSING TO SATISFY BOTH DOMESTIC AND U.S. PRESSURES ARE
NOT UNTYPICAL. IN THIS CONTEXT, PARK MAY WELL BE PERSUADED
TO RELEASE THE MYONGDONG DEFENDANTS AND MODIFY EMERGENCY
DECREE
NO. 9, PARTICULARLY IF HE CAN FIND SOME MEANS TO
NEUTRALIZE A FREED KIM DAE JUNG AND DAMPEN OPPOSITION
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EXPECTATIONS THAT THE U.S. WILL INTERVENE EVEN MORE
FORCEFULLY TO SUPPORT THEIR CAUSE. BUT, THESE GOALS,
AS MERITORIOUS AS THEY MAY BE, ARE NOT LIKELY TO ALTER
YUSHIN AUTHORITARIANISM. THE ISSUE FACING US IS HOW
MUCH EMPHASIS TO GIVE SUCH GOALS AS AGAINST URGING A
BROADENING OF HUMAN AND INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS, WHICH MAY
HAVE A LESS DRAMATIC, BUT A MORE LONG-LASTING, IMPACT.

C. SHORT VERSUS LONG TERM: GIVEN THE GREATER DEGREE

OF PROMISE FOR GREATER DEMOCRACY IN THE LONGER TERM, THE
ISSUE IS HOW MUCH EMPHASIS TO GIVE SHORTER-TERM OBJECTIVES

IN
THE HUMAN RIGHTS AREA. SOME EMPHASIS IS INEVIT-
ABLE SINCE IMMEDIATE ISSUES SUCH AS THE MYONGDONG
DEFENDANTS CANNOT BE IGNORED. BUT, SHOULD THE THRUST OF
OUR HUMAN RIGHTS STRATEGY BE DIRECTED AT LONG-TERM GOALS,
TWO APPROACHES ARE WORTH CONSIDERATION. FIRST, WE CAN
THROUGH A VARIETY OF PROGRAMS FOSTER THE EXPANSION OF NEW
CENTERS OF POWER BALANCING THE MILITARY, AN INSTITUTION BUILD-
ING APPROACH FOCUSED ON POWER CENTERS RATHER THAN THE
MECHANICS OF GOVERNING. SECOND, WE CAN OFFER KOREA AND
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PARK A POSITIVE INCENTIVE-THE CHOICE BETWEEN A LIMITED
RELATIONSHIP BASED ON COMMON STRATEGIC INTERESTS BUT LACK-
ING THE DEGREE OF INTIMACY AND FAVORED TREATMENT RESERVED
FOR OUR CLOSER ALLIES, AND A FULL RELATIONSHIP OFFERING
KOREA A MORE PERMANENT PLACE IN THE AMERICAN ALLIED ORBIT
AND AN ACCEPTED ROLE IN THE DEVELOPED WORLD (INCLUDING
OECD MEMBERSHIP), BUT ONE WHICH CAN ONLY BE BASED ON
SHARING OF COMMON VALUES, INCLUDING HUMAN RIGHTS. THIS
VISION, PARTICULARLY AS IT OFFERS A RELATIONSHIP MORE
AKIN TO THE US-JAPANESE TIE, WILL HAVE A STRONG ATTRACTION
TO KOREA.
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